

The Wilderness Campaign

By JOHN McELROY.

CHAPTER XLIX.

The Enemy Attacks Heavily.

Gen. Meade sent Gen. Hancock authorization to withdraw his command to the left and rear of Warren if he felt unable to hold his position, but Hancock replied that he did not think he could safely withdraw while under fire. Meade started Wilcox's Division of the Ninth Corps toward Ream's Station to assist Hancock and prevent the enemy from interposing between

and one of cavalry took position in and outside of the temporary works which had been constructed by the troops which had in June marched to the relief of the cavalry of Wilson when he was in such straits. These ill-constructed intrenchments covered a section of the railroad on its west side with a long parallel face, beyond which both of the lines of intrenchments connected with that from Ream's station some distance beyond it, open in that direction. With the railroad

ments from the Ninth Corps to reach Hancock in time to be of assistance. Gen. Wilcox, commanding a division, tells in "Battles and Leaders" how this happened.

"I proposed to the officer who brought me my orders—I forget whether it was Gen. Parke, commanding the Ninth Corps during the leave of Gen. Burnside, or a staff officer—to march straight down the railroad four or five miles at most and join Hancock at once, instead of marching around 12 miles by the plank road, but was told that there was some apprehension of the enemy getting around Hancock's left and rear, and that I must look out for that side. We passed the Gurley House at 3:55, marched across lots to the plank road and down to the cross-roads at Shaw's Tavern, where we arrived before 6, and received a message from Hancock, calling me rapidly. My troops were in good spirits. They heard the cannon firing, and felt that having assisted Warren of late materially and in the nick of an extremely, they were honored by this call from the grand old Second Corps, and we pushed ahead at a swinging gait. Very soon we began to meet stragglers from the front and some wagons and ambulances. Farther on an orderly handed me an

"HO FOR THE HOLIDAYS!"

Congressmen Going Home in High Good Humor—The Flurry Over the "Confidential Report"—Congressional Work Pretty Well Planned Out—Democrats Parleying—Lawyers Coming in for the Great Lawsuits—Congress and the Administration.

Congress is having a jolly time getting ready for the holidays. It is making an entry of the fact that Senate and House are dispersing for the Christmas season, but the holiday season is almost as much of a Governmental event as a Congressional one.

There have been some little things to keep the partisans in trouble. For instance, the war scare went wrong. It tickled the lawmakers and the country. It did not scare them as probably it was intended to do. The President and Secretary Dickinson were shown not to be in the confidence of the war scare.

A funny thing happened about that confidential report which Secretary Dickinson sent up to Congress in reply to the resolution of inquiry about our preparedness for war, penned by Representative James McLaughlin, of California. The confidential report, asserting that our defense on the Pacific Coast were entirely inadequate, was really written by Gen. Wood quite a long time ago. It was written when Secretary Dickinson was in the world, and was sent over to the White House for the President's perusal.

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With such a prevalence of high spirits among the men of both parties who run the Government, Washington promises to have a very gay Yuletide season. The city is still crowded with people. The number of outsiders in town is unusually large. They know that the season, social, legislative and otherwise, will be very short and want to be on the ground to accomplish as much as possible while there is yet time.

Democrats Parleying. A lot of the Democrats will tarry in town for further talks and parleys. They are doing a lot of talking and a lot of parleying these days. Many Democrats of note are coming to town from time to time to get into touch with affairs before returning to the States, where Democratic Governors soon take over the helm.

Of late the President has begun to talk with the Republican politicians over State conditions, and this is bringing quite a number of outsiders to Washington—men like Chairman of State Committees and local leaders of influence. However, all these activities are proceeding with an air of leisure. The holiday season, of all others, is not one for haste and bustle at the Capitol. The are festivities and formalities which command some attention, and what time reasonably can be spared for serious business seems to be satisfactory to all concerned, whether it be little or much.

Congress adjourns for the holidays with at least a record for industry to its credit. The traditional hickories, which have figured more or less prominently under the Washington date-line since early December, have not prevented Senate and House from doing a good deal of work, especially the House, from forging ahead with business. That has contributed something to Republican satisfaction.

The popular legislative branch, where the 11 supply bills of a session must originate, has already disposed of three of these and will reach a final vote on another—the legislative, executive and judicial bill, in charge of Representative Gillett, of Massachusetts—before the Christmas recess begins. The Indian pension, and river and harbor appropriation bills have already been delivered to the Senate. That is an unusual quota for the period before the holidays.

The Senate has accomplished a very important task in the prompt confirmation of Justices of the Supreme Court. The last general feeling of relief that this has been done without much outward show of friction and that, after many months of unavoidable delay, the Supreme Court will be able to start the New Year with its full complement of nine Justices. There will be busy days for the Chief Justice, Mr. Brandeis, and the other members of the Supreme Court in clearing away the docket of cases which have accumulated.

Immigration of Lawyers. The immigration of lawyers from many parts of the country in anticipation of the work the Court will do promises to be large. An air of confidence, the great cause of litigation pending there will be wisely disposed of. It is the opinion in responsible circles that the Court as made up is quite as strong in its personnel, and possibly stronger, than it has been before in many years. The unfavorable comment about the delay of men upon the Supreme Bench, which used to be heard frequently in Washington, is ceasing. President Taft, in naming four new Justices who command the respect of the country as well as lawyers, has brought this about.

The idea gains ground that the Congressional session will accomplish more than was expected of it. It will be devoid of much that focuses public attention. Some lively politics are in prospect as the winter progresses, but of the kind that is not of the House and Senate Chamber. The trouble-makers, who projected themselves so much into the proceedings last year, have not made good their threats to "keep it up" at this session and this has encouraged the House and Senate leaders to hope that, after all, these trouble-makers will be good for a spell till after the Sixty-first Congress has finally passed into history.

Just now many of the Cabinet officials are on the Congressional carpet. Summons are going out daily from the various House committees for them and their chief Departmental lieutenants to appear. From the lowest to the highest Federal official, none except the President is exempt from this annual call. Congress holds the purse strings and, in that capacity, exercises its right to examine and cross-examine before it votes funds for the Departments to expend.

Relations Between Congress and the Administration. The entrance between the Executive Departments and the legislative branch is as close as cordial as is used to be. The large increases in Governmental expenses and the public clamor for economy is probably responsible in some part. Congress puts much of the blame off upon the Departments, and the Departments in turn place the blame in no small degree upon Congress.

In the hazy spending days of the last decade most of the Departments had men high up on their official rosters who made it something of a business to play the good fellow with the lawmakers on the hill. Some pains were taken to have men available who could appear in person for appropriations or for desired language contrived in disbursements by personal and political friendships. That has largely passed. It may be that in some part to the fact that in recent years Senators and Representatives have been consulted less and less about nominations for the higher executive places.

Then, there has been less and less that exercised by the Departments in the big volume of dealings with Congress. In McKinley days there was always courtesy and consideration in handling matters with which Congress had to do. The lamented President, long a member of the higher executive places, was no exception. Under Roosevelt it was otherwise. Congress was taken less into the confidence of the Administration about the thousand and one minor Departmental activities of the fiscal year.

The pendulum has swung back a little since Taft became President, but the old order of things has by no means been restored. Then, there is the stress of public criticism and an untoward political situation which did not exist when McKinley occupied the White House.



Carnegie's Millions for Peace; Not a Cent for War.

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS.

The Amendment for Popular Election of Senators Likely to Pass This Winter.

The Senate's alacrity in catching up with the public and aligning itself with the so-called popular Government ideas may become one of the notable features of this Congressional session. Something new has been happening almost every day in that line. First came a declaration, the sincerity of which has yet to be tested, that looked toward the creation of a real Tariff Commission. Now there are appearances of Senate backing for a constitutional amendment to permit of popular election of Senators. The champion of other progressive measures, worn out by hard and almost hopeless campaigning at the Capitol thru many years, are taking note and will press for advantage.

It is altogether too early to prophesy that such laws will be enacted forthwith, but the trend of the times, ever, encourage that view. The old Senators are fond of asserting that, even the Senate be a conservative body, it does not hesitate to advance when convinced that it is moving in the direction of settled public opinion. Of fervent public agitation Senators, especially those of the South, are six years' term ahead, entertain contempt. But when an issue has run the gamut of prolonged discussion and repeated endorsement by the test votes, Senators of all parties have profound regard for it.

That seems to be the status of the popular election of Senators issue. The Bristow bill is said now to have a majority of the Judiciary Committee in its favor. That means a favorable report to the Senate of a resolution to amend the Constitution. So many Senators from the South and West are now chosen by primary that it would not be surprising if such a proposed amendment could command a majority.

As some form such a measure has passed the House time and again, it once passed the Senate under the championship of the late Senator Turpie, of Indiana. If the Senate acts favorably very soon, there will be little difficulty getting a vote in the House. A two-thirds vote by the Senate and the House would be required to propose such an amendment, and the approval of the Legislatures of three-fourths of the States is necessary for ratification.

The first session of the present or Sixty-first Congress proposed one constitutional amendment—that for an income tax. It was the first proposal of the kind in nearly half a century. The ratification of the amendment is now expected, although it was originally believed that the largely Republican and conservative Legislatures of the Middle Atlantic and New England States would prevent its ratification. The fact that the Democrats have captured several Legislatures in that territory is calculated to give the income tax amendment advantage.

If the Senatorial amendment is to be proposed this Winter, it will be done before March 4—in time for action by many State Legislatures. Its prompt ratification by the South would be a foregone conclusion, as nearly all Senators south of the Potomac and Ohio Rivers have to win their seats under the primary system. The three Pacific Coast States all have a form of Senatorial primary, as have Nebraska, Nevada, the Dakotas, Iowa, Kansas, Wisconsin and a goodly proportion of the States in the upper Mississippi Valley.

As this is the biennial period when all except half a dozen State Legislatures assemble, the time is especially propitious for trying out proposed amendments that Congress may favor. The fact that the Democratic National platform, as well as many State platforms, declares for popular elections of Senators, adds to the probability that the Democrats will be so generally in control of State Governments after Jan. 1, enhances prospects of ratification. Republican Senators, of course, are not unaware of that, and are not making any special effort to condition in favor of the submission of the amendment. On that account their votes will be of more than usual significance.

The attitude of the present Congress for amending the Constitution demonstrates most forcibly the effect of vigorous public sentiment upon the law-making department. There has been a

deep-rooted opposition in both parties to changing the Constitution, enforced by a conviction that it was practically impossible to get an amendment ratified. If now an amendment for popular election of Senators be submitted, an impetus will be given to efforts for other changes. One of these, often proposed in Congress, is for the popular election of President. It has not been made clear yet that there is an aggressive sentiment for that change, even tho it is recognized that the machinery of the Electoral College is superfluous. Another constitutional amendment, less frequently proposed, is to give the President a six years' term and make him ineligible for a second term.

THE WAR SCARE.

For Once the Alarmists Overplayed Their Hand—Congress Tired of This Sensationalism. The Facts and Figures Are Against It.

Secretary of War Dickinson and his Chief of Staff, Gen. Leonard Wood, brought down upon themselves the ire of Representative Tawney, Chairman of Appropriations, in their course about the unpreparedness of the United States for war and the communication that Secretary Dickinson addressed recently to the House. A second edition of that reply has just been sent to the House and made public, but it carried a confidential statement from Gen. Wood, which was not made public. There's the rub.

Something over \$1,000,000,000 have been expended upon the United States Army and the land defense of the decade. What has the War Department done with it? Why should the country be aroused with stories about our utter unpreparedness against a foreign foe, when such an enormous sum has been voted in time of peace?

These are some of the questions that hard-headed legislators at the Capitol are asking since the latest war scare projected itself into the legislative chambers here. The battle to down the alarmist statements is being waged by Appropriations Chairman Tawney and others with solid columns of statistics.

From 1903 to 1910, inclusive, the average appropriations on the Army bill were in excess of \$85,000,000. That was the Army bill alone. There is not tell the whole story. There is an appropriation bill for fortifications, which averages about \$7,000,000 a year. Deduct Army appropriations, armories and arsenals, military posts, and the maintenance of the War Department, call for at least \$3,000,000 or \$4,000,000 more. The totals cannot be easily figured, because of the complicated system of making appropriations, but the average of all funds for the Army in the last decade will go well up to \$100,000,000 a year.

Higher Army Appropriations. These Army appropriations are now considerably above that average 10 years' figure. Just at the close of the last session Chairman Tawney, in one of his speeches attacking the burdensome expenses of militarism, stated that salaries, etc., in the War Department for the fiscal year 1910, which ended June 30 last, cost \$1,307,859.11, and that the "military establishment, Nevada, the Dakotas, Iowa, Kansas, Wisconsin and a goodly proportion of the States in the upper Mississippi Valley."

The total expenditures on account of the Army, including the cost of expected wars, as Chairman Tawney phrases it, were 71.4 per cent of all the revenues of the Government for that fiscal year 1910. That of course includes the cost of the Navy, pensions and interest on the public debt. The postal service is not figured in that calculation, because its days and expenditures are so nearly equal that the Treasury regards it as a balanced account.

A lot of figures have been made in the appropriations, which show that our comparative expenditures for military average up quite as high as those of European powers, although we do not maintain as large or as well organized standing armies as do France and Germany.

The latest war scare to set Congress by the ears was more ingeniously formulated than some of its recent predecessors. The annual war scare was pretty well worn to a frazzle, because the people had come to see thru them. Public sentiment was not stirred, and



THE CHARGE OF THE CAVALRY FORCES.

him and Warren. At 5 o'clock Gen. Meade, with 17,000 men, arrived at the forks of the road near Ream's Station. About 5 p. m. the enemy began a very heavy fire of artillery, which was unusually effective owing to the faulty construction of rifle pits, allowing the line to be taken in reverse. The intrenchments at Ream's Station were very slight, and had been hastily thrown up in the previous June by troops sent out to help Wilson get back to our lines. They ran along the railroad for about 1,200 yards, with returns of about 800 or 1,000 long at each end. The troops in these returns were the ones most affected by the artillery fire. Gen. A. P. Hill had brought up Mc-Gowan's, Lane's, Scales's, Anderson's, Cook's and McRae's Brigades with two from Mahone's Division.

After the shelling had gone on for about 15 minutes Heth and Wilcox led their men forward for a determined assault on Miles's front. It was clear that the heavy musketry fire was shaking the Confederates badly, but at the most inopportune time some regiments, which had been filled up with substitutes, gave way in confusion. McKnight's Battery attempted to stay the enemy's rush, but was captured, and were also two more batteries, Slaughter's and Perrin's. Both these had been serving with marked gallantry, and lost heavily in men and horses. Gen. Hancock, Gibbon and Miles restored themselves to the utmost to restore their lines, but with little effect. Gen. Gibbon at last succeeded in forming another line a short distance in rear of the rifle pits, where his infantry was assisted by Werner's Battery and Gregg's Cavalry. This checked the advance of the enemy till darkness came on.

Gen. Hancock attributed the misfortune to the excessive fatigue which his troops had undergone, the presence of the unusual number of raw recruits and the absence in killed or wounded of so many of his experienced officers. At that time the various States were making vigorous efforts to fill up their decimated regiments by paying large bounties to recruits. These recruits were without any drill or discipline, and were sent at once to join their regiments, and in several of Hancock's regiments they absolutely broke down under the fire of the enemy. This checked the advance of the enemy till darkness came on.

running north and south, in alternate order from Hancock to arrest the stragglers and from then according to their regiments, for which I had to deploy and leave the 20th Mich., and that deployed as a little of course. With the rest of the division I pushed on, without halting, until 7 o'clock, when I received word that if one or two brigades could be got up in time the day might be saved. This was communicated to the troops, who threw off their blanket rolls and started at a double-quick, which they kept up, with a few breathing intervals, the rest of the way until I reported to Hancock.

"Meanwhile a bitter fight had been going on. After the 2 o'clock affair everything looked promising to Hancock for an hour or two. However, the order from Hancock to arrest the stragglers and from then according to their regiments, for which I had to deploy and leave the 20th Mich., and that deployed as a little of course. With the rest of the division I pushed on, without halting, until 7 o'clock, when I received word that if one or two brigades could be got up in time the day might be saved. This was communicated to the troops, who threw off their blanket rolls and started at a double-quick, which they kept up, with a few breathing intervals, the rest of the way until I reported to Hancock.

By the time the New Year has come the Dickinson-McLaughlin episode will be much in retrospect, and probably will have spent its influence, except the divergence of view between the President and the Secretary of War on certain Army matters will make it more difficult to obtain legislation for the Army at this session. Congress at Washington has been so accustomed to strenuous doings in recent years that it quickly forgets what has been and looks forward to what is to be. Hancock's public man in a half dozen now could recount at all comprehensively the recommendations in the President's annual message, now only two weeks old.

About All the Work Mapped Out. Senators and Representatives probably will not get far afield during the two weeks of the recess. There will be very little work as the legislative branch is so much concerned. The committees of the Senate and the committees of the House have disposed of the Army bill, and have a hope of getting enacted into law at the present session. All the committees are therefore content to rest upon their oars and wait for the return of the lawmakers in many instances go back to their homes for a few days and attend to private business. Western folks will make a journey to the East, and some other near-by places for a good time.

The Departments are still looking after the legislation which is wanted of Congress. Numerous legislative matters are under investigation there. All these will furnish a little work for the clerks and bureau chiefs.

The President and his Cabinet officials will not be rushed now for a time. The heft of their pressing duties is over. There are some matters of politics which will engage the President's attention. Indications are that he is paying the way for a vigorous campaign for a year or so, and that he is preparing to start in early. He is still trying to placate the insurgent Republicans by both legislative branches, and it may be that he is making his headway. At any rate, he is not despairing of the difficulties in the way of such a policy.

A nice game of golf just now would be much to the President's liking, for he feels the need of exercise after the confinement to his office of the last two or three weeks. But the robust young man, which has Washington in its embrace, precludes any Presidential sport on the golf links. There are a few enthusiasts who go out upon the links and play with a few balls, which can be seen in the snow, but the President is not enamored of sport under such difficulties. Secretary of the Navy Meyer has gone down South on a hunting trip, but the President cares little for hunting. Harrison liked to go gunning occasionally. Cleveland was equally fond of fishing and of hunting ducks.

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(Continued on page three.)



VIEW OF VARINA LANDING ON THE JAMES RIVER.

Hancock says that his force at Ream's Station consisted of about 6,000 infantry and 2,000 cavalry. He reports the loss of nine guns, 22 officers and 87 men killed, 60 officers and 441 men wounded and 84 officers and 1,658 men missing, making a grand total of 2,362. Gen. A. P. Hill reported his loss to be 120, chiefly, if not almost entirely, in killed and wounded. He claimed to have captured 12 stands of colors, nine guns, 10 caissons, 2,150 prisoners and 3,100 stands of small-arms.

In the "Life of Gen. Meade" there is this statement: "Here the two divisions of infantry